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THE RECIPROCAL INFLUENCE
OF
ENGLISH AND FRENCH LITERATURE
IN THE
Eighteenth Century.

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THE RECIPROCAL INFLUENCE
OF
ENGLISH AND FRENCH LITERATURE
IN THE

Eighteenth Century.

BY
H^E T^H W^{OOD}, B.A.

CLARE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

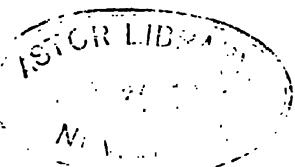
πολλὰν δ' ὅρει πῦρ ἐξ ἐνδο
σπέρματος ἐνθορὸν ἀσττωσεν ὥλαν.
PIR. Pyth. γ. 36.

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1870.

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Wm.



This Essay gained the LE BAS PRIZE for the year 1869.

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SECTION I.

INTRODUCTION.

"No single event, no single Literature, can be adequately comprehended except in its relations to other events, to other Literatures¹." The literature of each individual country is not like a separate tree, growing in its own land, and deriving sustenance solely from the soil in which it is planted ; rather may it be more justly compared to a river, which, though flowing distinct and separate, is yet increased in volume, and varied in nature by innumerable affluents from neighbouring sources, while it in its turn affects and changes other streams by contributions from itself. As, in the material world every country is affected by its commerce with the rest, so also does the commerce of thought vary and influence the nations between which it passes ; and surely there is nothing in which the effects of this change can be manifested more strongly than in the literary productions of each people. Thus it is that we see, according as the literature of any country becomes stronger than that of its neighbours, it ever influences them in a very strong degree ; the effect

General Influences by one nation on another.

¹ Matthew Arnold on *The Modern Element in Literature*.



of Italian literature in France and England during the seventeenth century; that of the age of Louis XII. in England; and that of the writings of English philosophers in France during the eighteenth century, may all be taken as instances of this. "Star to star vibrates light," and nation passes on to nation the light of knowledge and of thought, while ever, in this interchange of mind, the good and lasting is preserved, and that which is bad and trivial falls to the ground and dies.

Latin the general language of Europe.

In the earliest times, when knowledge was scant, and readers few, all Europe, or rather all the learned men in Europe, formed one public, which was addressed in Latin, but as civilization spread and knowledge became more widely diffused, each country gradually formed a literature of her own, directed by the tendencies and modified by the peculiarities of her own people. It would seem as if by so limiting the circulation of a work to its own country, the circle of its influence would be narrowed, and a step thus made in the wrong direction: but the wave of civilization had only thus appeared to recede, that it might roll forward with tenfold power; and as knowledge advanced, and mutual intercourse between nations took place, their writings became affected and changed by the productions of their neighbours.

Formative principles in Modern Civilization.

It has been remarked¹ that there have been four great original principles at work in the formation of our Modern Civilization: first, Christianity; secondly, the Teutonic principle, dominant in Northern Europe, and the chief element in our own language; thirdly, the Roman principle, dominant in Southern Europe; and lastly, the Oriental principle, which reached Europe through Spain and the Moors, and also through the Saracens with whom the

¹ *Remains of A. H. Hallam.*

Christian armies contended in the Crusades. With regard to this last principle it is to be noted that it is not entirely due to the Moors and Saracens, but also somewhat to the Aryan origin of our race. Now, since the English are a Teutonic, but the French a Romance nation, any investigation of their mutual influences upon one another must be to a certain extent an investigation into the reciprocal action of these two great principles upon one another ; and this we shall see more especially when we come to consider the effects caused by the subjection of our literature to that of France which had place towards the end of the seventeenth century.

The observation has been made that we have always been insular, in our literature as in all else ; and without doubt those influences which poured freely over the continent, were in some degree checked by the Channel, and only reached the shores of England in a weaker and modified form. But our "narrow seas" were not enough to keep us free from all the modifying causes which affected the neighbouring nations, and though our literature was never, before the Restoration, as entirely subject to foreign rule as was that of France, the periods of extrinsic influence are clearly enough marked. All our early literature was Saxon, and this language formed the groundwork of our own (indeed it would be more correct to say that our present English is merely a growth from Saxon or early English). This first period, which has been called that of the formation of the language, may be considered to have lasted up to Chaucer. After him we find the age of Oriental or chivalric influence, which was succeeded by the Italian, dominant during the Elizabethan era. Following this again we have the influence of France commencing with the Restoration ; and lastly the Germanic influence, which had place at the end of the eighteenth century, and

Foreign Influ-
ences on English
Literature.

is perhaps hardly yet over. However, since the early part of the eighteenth century, the chief power at work in our literature has been the true English and popular influence, which has steadily been gaining strength since its first rise until the present time.

Having been successively subject to all these influences, our language has become as it were a sort of centre to which beauties the most opposite converge; and we may, without undue conceit, consider that while it has lost none of the strength of the original Saxon, it has grafted to itself something of the grace and softness of the Italian, the flexibility and critical accuracy of the French, and the majesty and dignity of the Spanish.

But if Spain and Italy affected to some extent English writers, those of France were at different times almost wholly under their domain. In the sixteenth century, Italy gave France the Renaissance, and in the succeeding one the tone of French writings was directed by Spain. It was the time immediately following that of Spain's greatest glory, and Spanish fashions, language, and even dress, were all imitated in France, where, even after the decline of the Spanish Empire, her supremacy in literary matters still continued. Later on in this century our English Euphuists were represented in France by Marino, the Italian poet of the court of Marie de Medici; but this style found but little favour outside the court.

At the end of this seventeenth century, the reaction, headed by Boileau, set in, and France took the lead of the nations. In the succeeding century came the period of English influence in France, which lasted till the Revolution. Since then the Germanic influence, which has had such considerable power here, has also had some effect in France, but on the whole French literature

has been guided by the course of the political circumstances of the country, and it is difficult to trace the effect of foreign authors upon modern French writings. It is also to be noticed, that as we approach our own time it becomes much less easy to follow the course and define the extent of any one influencing cause. With the growth of knowledge, and with the increased facilities for inter-communication, literature has spread into so many fields, and has become subjected to so many varying powers, that the absolute influence of one country upon another is far less clearly defined than in earlier periods;—what the literature of each country has gained in variety and extent, it has lost in unity. Then, too, we are become more cosmopolitan, and every author's work circulates beyond his own country, till literature is scarcely any longer to be classed by countries, but by subjects, at least in its higher branches. Lastly, we are too close to gain a comprehensive view of the writings of our own time, and what we gain in exact knowledge, we necessarily lose in breadth and comprehensiveness of apprehension.

We have thus seen that (after the time of Chaucer, who learnt much from France) it was not until at all events the latter half of the seventeenth century that either France or England began to affect one another in literary matters. The reason for this has been noted above, that it is only when the literature of a country becomes stronger than that of its neighbours, that it exercises over them any great power. This fact will, it is true, not account for the neglect the writers of our Elizabethan age met with upon the continent, but our insular position, while it tended to make Englishmen always great travellers, and thus did not hinder them from being affected by the manners of other countries.

Ignorance of
England on the
Continent.

philosophy in France, as manifested in the writings of Voltaire and the philosophers. Besides these two main streams, there will be various smaller and less distinct currents of thought, exercising their power rather upon individuals than over the age; and these will be left to be taken by themselves after the investigation of the two more important and clearly defined influences.

SECTION II.

THE INFLUENCE OF BOILEAU AND HIS SCHOOL.

To discuss properly the French influence which was so English Literature at the time of the Restoration. powerfully exerted over English writers at the commencement of the eighteenth century, it is necessary to go back for awhile into the middle of the century before, and consider briefly the effects caused by the Restoration.

At this time English literature was generally at a very low ebb. It was the time of the interval between the downfall of the creative school and the rise of the critical. The age of Shakspere and Spenser had passed away, that of Pope and Addison had not yet begun. All the writings of this time are crammed with bombast, and full of foolish conceits. The old English Drama was extinct, destroyed by the Puritans: Cowley, the last of the old school, died in 1668, and Butler and Dryden, the first of the new, were yet hardly known. Philosophy survived solely in Hobbes, and he was exiled from England. Theology alone was cultivated, by such men as Tillotson, South, Stillingfleet and More. Still the signs were apparent of the approach of a better state of things. The artificial and unnatural style of Cowley was still pursued in verse, but English prose was assuming a nobler and purer tone. We must

never forget that in the preceding generation that great work, the English translation of the Bible, had appeared.

The Restoration.

Before however any such reform could be completed, the Restoration of Charles inundated the country with French fashions. Charles had spent a large part of his exile in France, and he and his court, little able to appreciate the beauties of Shakspeare or Spenser, brought with them a taste for the foolish trivialities then fashionable in that country. Himself a pensioner of Louis, he submitted the literature of his country to the rule of French art, as he did its politics to the sway of the French court. In either case the event was equally disastrous; our literature became degraded, and our country despised.

Corruption of
Morals.

A corrupt and profligate court spread the taint of immorality through a nation already predisposed to it by the reaction against the severities of the Puritans. All the writings of this age bear the same stamp; its tragedy was an exaggerated imitation of Corneille and Racine; its comedy is remarkable among all the productions of the English stage for its immorality; its satire is the careless and sympathizing mockery of Horace, rather than the fierce invective of Juvenal. "Poetry, driven from palaces, colleges and theatres, had found an asylum in the obscure dwelling where a great man, born out of due season, in disgrace, penury, pain and blindness, still kept uncontaminated a character and a genius worthy of a better age¹." But Milton was unknown, or at least unfavoured, at court, and it was left for the genius of a later generation to bring both him and Shakspeare forward into their proper place in the literature, not only of England but of the world.

¹ Macaulay's *Miscellaneous Writings*, "John Dryden."

Still beneath all this, the popular spirit, the true spirit Popular Influence. of our country, was alive. The *Pilgrim's Progress*, despised and sneered at by all those who pretended to "good taste," went through nine editions between 1678 and 1685, and Milton, unread at court, still found an audience in the middle ranks of society. His *Paradise Lost* was on its way to a second edition when a reform in our literature began to make itself felt.

This reform came from France, the source whence Boileau. Boileau also had come most of the corruption. In 1672 Boileau Despreaux (1636—1711) published his *Art of Poetry*, and the effect of this work was manifest almost as soon in England as in France. Boileau, the friend of Molière and Racine, was the first to make direct war upon that "bel esprit" which Molière had ridiculed. He stood boldly up in defence of good sense. "Tout doit tendre au bon sens," he said. His writings mark the decline of Italian influence in France, from which even Corneille was by no means free, while Scudery and his school were entirely subjugated to it.

The style which Boileau attacked, the style of the Précieuses and the grammarians, was already fast decaying from its own intrinsic weakness. The power of his ridicule gave it the finishing stroke, and he was at once acknowledged as the great master and teacher of the true canons of literary criticism. It was to the classical writers Admiration for the Classics. of Greece and Rome that Boileau looked back for inspiration; while he with some justice regarded Latin, the purest and best of those old Italian dialects from which the Romance languages were derived, as the true model to which French writings were to be assimilated, and by their conformity to which they were to be judged. In their admiration for the Classics, the French critics were soon followed by English writers. Dryden looked upon

Latin as the pattern for good English, while even Addison regarded it as the touchstone by which all other languages were to be tried.

Difference in
origin between
French and
English.

This undue admiration for Greek and Latin was a fault more serious in our writers than in those of France ; they forgot, or did not know, that our language is Teutonic, not Romance, in its origin, and that if they wished to go back to the source, it was in Saxon, not in Latin, that they should have looked for it. This we have since done ; and whatever improvement has been effected in our language during the last half-century is mainly due to the fact that we have done so.

Of course there can be no comparison between the examples furnished by the classical authors and those of Saxon writers, but this is another matter ; the strength and the power of our language lies in its Saxon roots ; whatever there is in it of Latin is of foreign introduction, it has been grafted on, and if the tree thus improved has borne more splendid fruits, still the strength and the life of it is due to the old stock. Not that it is to be denied that our language has gained much by its temporary subjection to French rule. A. H. Hallam, writing of this period, truly and elegantly says :—

Advantages of
French Influence.

“ Our language has taken into itself some of that wonderful idiomatic force, that clearness and conciseness of arrangement, that correct pointing of expression towards the level of general understanding, which distinguish the French tongue above all others with which we are acquainted, and render allowable a comparison between it and the Latin, which occupied nearly the same post in the old civilization, as the organ, not of general or original thinking, but of thoughts accumulated, smoothed down, and ready for diffusion.”

The question naturally arises, to what extent has our



language itself been affected by its subjection to French influence, and whether it received any really important change from it? The language was thoroughly formed long before this time, and it will be found that but few additions have actually been made to our vocabulary since the time of Elizabeth, when many words of Latin or French derivation were for the first time introduced into English. The admiration for France inclined English writers to the use of words derived from Latin and French, in place of their Saxon synonyms, words, that is to say, already existing in the language, but not in very common use; scarcely any new words having been added to our dictionary during this period. As to the grammar of the language, it was of course too fixed and settled to admit of any change, but the general style of English writing became more nearly assimilated to that of Latin than before, while a larger proportion of foreign words, as compared with those of Saxon origin, came into general use.

To return to Boileau—his influence is as clearly manifest in England as it was in France. The change in the tone of literary composition here is marked most distinctly by the sudden alteration in Dryden's style, after his *Annus Mirabilis*. Before this time had been produced all his Rhyming Tragedies (a species of composition he had introduced from the French), after it he wrote all his best plays, his satires, and his didactic poems. His play of *Tyrannic Love*, which would seem to have been suggested by the *Amour Tyrannique* of Scudery, and is as full of extravagancies and excesses as any of this latter's dramas, was lately published when the change happened, and it was the last he wrote in this style.

The estimation in which Dryden held French criticism is shown by the expressions he makes use of in the preface to his conversion of *Paradise Lost* into an opera, where he

His respect for French criticism.

cites as authorities, "the greatest of the age, Boileau and Rapin." Of this same Rapin he also speaks in another place, as being one "alone sufficient, were all other critics lost, to teach anew the art of writing."

Pope.

But if Dryden, during the latter part of his career, acknowledged the supremacy of Boileau, Dryden's successor was under his domain during his whole life. Pope, the English poet of good sense, has been not inaptly called the viceroy of Boileau in England. He was thoroughly imbued with the spirit of French criticism, and it was mainly through him that this spirit gained such power in England. He was, during almost the whole of the eighteenth century, considered to be the great model and example in English poetry. Perhaps no man had ever a greater number of imitators; his style, at least in its external features, is not a difficult one to copy, being as it is, one which demands rather care and labour than real poetic genius. The truth of this is made apparent by the fact that commentators are still undecided as to the respective shares of Pope and Broome in the translation of the *Odyssey*, so successfully has the latter caught his master's style.

Pope was beyond a doubt the greatest poet of his age; none of his followers can bear comparison with him, he stands alone,

"Unde nil majus generatur ipso
Nec viget quidquam simile aut secundum."

The artificiality and coldness of his style have rendered his works less popular in the present day, but it is certain that we owe to him and to his age much of the polish and elegance which our language now possesses. The writings of this period show a delicacy of thought and expression now only to be found in the works of one or two of the *best American authors* of our day.

Owing then to the extent and importance of the school which he founded, every influence which was exerted upon Pope was perpetuated through his followers until at all events the latter part of the century, long after the admiration for Boileau had passed away, and when the supremacy of France in literary matters was no longer acknowledged.

His poetry was an embodiment of the spirit of his age; whether because he in some degree directed that spirit, or because he was himself entirely influenced by it, it is indeed impossible to say. The neatness and the delicacy of his writings is more consonant with the tone of contemporary authors in France than with that of the older English writers, to whom indeed he owes little or nothing, while he apparently derives a great deal from France, and still more from the indirect influence of France which reached him through Dryden, the only English poet of a date anterior to his own whom he at all resembles.

A considerable similarity may be traced between Pope and the great French critic. Both are equally remarkable for taste, judgment, and good sense; both are under considerable obligations to the classics, from whom both borrowed, though neither can be said to have had a deep or scholarly knowledge of his models. Indeed this shallowness of knowledge is a prevailing fault of the age; an age more remarkable for external polish than for real depth or earnest thought. Another point of similarity is that Pope and Boileau are the chief writers of the mock-heroic style in their respective languages. The *Lutrin* and the *Rape of the Lock* have often been compared, the verdict usually differing according as an Englishman or a Frenchman is the judge. In machinery certainly Pope's poem is superior; his sylphs and gnomes are a more graceful race than the impersonations of abstract qualities which people Boileau's

Lutrin and the
Rape of the Lock.

leau's work, and are better suited to the light and playful treatment required by the subject. Pope too never leaves his mock-heroic for the satiric style, he lightly mocks at the frivolities of fashionable society, while the *Lutrin* is an attack on the sensuality and gluttony of a body of priests, and approaches more nearly the true domain of satire. Whether however this is really a defect may be doubted.

Blank Verse.

In his dislike of blank verse, Pope followed Dryden, who caught from France the love for rhyme; in this respect differing greatly from Milton, who in his latter years not only abjured the use of rhyme, but spoke strongly against it. Rhyme was more natural to the Southern languages, which abound in vowels. In the Northern tongues, in which consonants predominate, its place was to a great extent supplied by alliteration.

Boileau in Eng-
land.

Pope himself tells us how

“Critic learning flourished most in France,
The rules a nation born to serve obeys,
And Boileau still in right of Horace sways.”

But while they readily submitted themselves to the French laws of criticism, he and the other English writers of this period paid them no such servile reverence. The refinement and polish received from abroad they joined to a vigour and power truly national, and the result appears in the literature of an age for which its own writers claimed the title of Augustan, an age which, if rather over-estimated by them, hardly receives its due amount of admiration from our own time.

Addison.

The French influence on Pope was in a considerable degree modified by his own shrewdness and good sense, and the same effect is perceptible even to a greater degree in Addison. The period of the domination of Gallican influence occupied a portion merely of the time in which

our literature was undergoing its greatest change, the change from the rule of patrons to that of the people. The French style was more suited to the taste of patrons who set up as critics and Mæcenases, and were "fed with soft dedication all day long," than to that of an unbiassed public.

This change, inaugurated by Defoe, who was our first true *Journalist*, was exemplified in the *Spectator*, which appealed, not to a patron, nor, like the plays of Wycherley, Congreve, and their fellow-dramatists, to the "town," but to the people of England. Doubtless the popular element Steele. of the *Spectator* is principally due to Steele, whose influence over Addison has hardly received its due notice, so much has his share of the work been overlooked in comparison with that of his greater colleague. For much of this disregard of Steele Lord Macaulay is certainly answerable, since, in his well-known essay on Addison, he rather unduly depreciates the real founder and originator of the work which has for ever joined their names together in the memories of their countrymen.

Of these two great writers, it was Addison who was most subject to the prevailing French taste. Steele belonged rather to the new school, Addison to the old. Steele was of course more or less subject to the prevailing spirit of his time, but as his writings do not present any marked examples of French influence, they hardly come within the scope of this essay.

Of Addison the same remark may be made that was made above of Pope, that his influence over succeeding writers was so great that anything which tended to form his style, modified through him the writings of almost all his successors throughout the century. He seems to have had the marvellous gift of taking the good and rejecting the bad from the work of his predecessors, and in him

the rough vigour of the old English writers was softened by the delicacy and refinement of the modern French school. In his own pure and polished style we see the effect of this influence in its best form, with almost none of the weaknesses into which all the closer followers of the school were betrayed. The poetry of Pope is the best example we have of the writings of this latter sort, clear and smooth-flowing, but cold and passionless. Addison infused into this style a warmth and a vigour which purged away all its worst faults, and left his writings a model of noble English, while it rendered himself the greatest English prose writer of his age.

Neglect of Shakespeare and Milton.

The followers of the French school, in their admiration for the classics, were only too ready to condemn the great English writers of preceding ages; indeed, one of the best tests of the extent of the French influence, is the way in which Shakspeare and Milton were regarded. Shakspeare was considered barbarous, and unfit for polite audiences; Gildon the critic says, "Lucilius was the incorrect idol of Roman times, Shakspeare of ours." Pepys saw *Romeo and Juliet* in 1672, and declared that the play was "the worst he had ever heard." The *Midsummer Night's Dream* was "the most insipid, ridiculous play I ever saw in my life." Of the *Tempest*, *Macbeth*, and *Hamlet* he speaks rather better, but still in a very contemptuous tone. In fact so thoroughly was the spirit of the time antagonistic to the tone of Shakspeare's works, that Pope with all his popularity could do little to obtain a public for him, and it was not until the Gallican influence was dying out, that he again began to be appreciated as he deserved.

Milton.

To Milton the critics of Dryden's time altogether refused the title of an Epic poet, even those who, like Dryden himself, appreciated Milton better than most of the wits of the time. Rymer in 1678 speaks of "Paradise

Lost, which some are pleased to call a poem," and in his preface to a translation of Rapin's *Reflexions on Aristotle's Poetic*, where he makes some remarks on Epic poets, he does not even mention Milton, while he speaks of Chaucer "in whose time language was not capable of the heroic character;" and of Spenser as one who "wanted a true Idea, and lost himself by following an unfaithful guide." Later on, in 1721, Gildon says of *Paradise Lost*, "It is not an Heroic poem, but a divine one, and indeed of a new species."

Not that there were wanting, even then, men fully capable of understanding and appreciating our greatest English poet. As an undergraduate at Oxford, in 1694, we find Addison, in a set of verses on English poets, written for a college friend, omitting the name of Shakspeare, speaking of Chaucer and Spenser in such terms as these:—

"Old age has rusted what the poet writ,
Worn out his language, and obscured his wit:
In vain he jests in his unpolished strain,
And tries to make his readers laugh in vain.
Old Spenser next, warm with poetic rage,
In ancient tales amused a barb'rous age;
But now the mystic tale, that pleased of yore,
Can charm an understanding age no more."—

but devoting a large part of his poem to Milton, the great poet whom in after life he so powerfully recommended to his countrymen, in eighteen successive Saturday's articles in the *Spectator*. The apt motto which headed the first "Milton" paper, "Cedite Romani scriptores, cedite Graii," shews that Addison saw the error of popular taste, and was ready to do his best to correct it. Yet he was so far affected by the tone of contemporaneous authors, that the way he took to recommend Milton to his readers was by comparing him to Homer and Virgil: by shewing

that *Paradise Lost* has as good a right to the title of Epic as the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*, while he strengthens his case by arguments from the *Ars Poetica* and Aristotle's *Poetic*. Not that Addison was himself swayed by such arguments: in the very commencement of his first essay he says, "Those who will not give it that Title (of Heroic poem) may call it if they will a Divine Poem. It will be sufficient to its perfection if it has in it all the Beauties of the highest kind of Poetry; and as for those who alledge it is not an Heroick Poem, they advance no more to the Diminution of it, than if they should say that Adam is not *Aeneas*, nor Eve *Helen*." Thus even he felt obliged to adapt himself to the spirit of his age, in trying to gain from others that tribute of admiration for *Milton*, which he paid so readily himself.

Chevy Chase.

It was the same with others of our old writers. He did not venture to introduce the ballad of "Chevy Chase" to his readers in the *Spectator*, without endeavouring to prove that it fulfilled the conditions required of a Heroic poem by the critics of the age, and that it in many passages closely resembled the *Aeneid*. The comparisons he draws between the two poems will appear ridiculous to us, who are content to take each upon its own merits, but they tend to shew the strong hold which the doctrines of the French school had taken even upon our best and most original writer. "I feared," he says in conclusion, "my own Judgment would have looked too singular on such a Subject, had I not supported it by the Practice and Authority of Virgil."

For his attempt to draw attention to this noble old ballad, Addison incurred much ridicule "from the little conceited wits of the age," which however did not deter him from praising in another *Spectator* the "Babes in the Wood," fortifying his opinion this time with a quotation:

from Horace ;—

"Me fabulosæ Vulture in Apulo,
Altricis extra limen Apuliæ,
Ludo fatigatumque somno,
Fronde nova puerum palumbes
Texere."

But the French influence was less marked in the *Spec-^{cato}tator*, where Steele's spirit also made itself felt, than in Addison's other writings. His tragedy of *Cato*, which added as much as any of his works to his reputation among his contemporaries, and which was termed by Johnson his noblest production, was fashioned after the true French model, and will bear comparison with many of the plays of Corneille and Racine, the great masters of this style. Perhaps the most significant proof we can have of this is the fact that it was as much admired in France as it was here. Speaking of it Voltaire says ;—

"M. Addison est le premier Anglais qui ait fait une tragédie raisonnable. Je le plaindrais s'il n'y avait mis que de la raison. Sa tragédie de Caton est écrite, d'un bout à l'autre, avec cette élégance mâle et énergique dont Corneille, le premier, donna chez nous de si beaux exemples dans son style inégal. Il me semble que cette pièce est faite pour un auditoire un peu philosophe et très républicain. Je doute que nos jeunes dames et nos petits maîtres eussent aimé Caton en robe de chambre lisant les dialogues de Platon, et faisant ses réflexions sur l'immortalité de l'âme."

Addison's tragedy also furnished Voltaire with a model for his own play of *Brutus*; while his *Drummer* was imitated by Destouches in his *Tambour Nocturne*, at the time when Anglomanie was at its height in France.

Another proof of the way in which he was regarded abroad is afforded by the fact that the names of many dia-

Voltaire on
Addison.
Influence of the
latter in France.

tinguished foreigners are to be found in the list of subscribers to the edition of his works published shortly after his death. Addison may thus be considered to have been the first Englishman who obtained anything like a continental reputation.

Addison and Boileau.

Addison during his travels abroad met Boileau, and had an interview with him of which he has left an account in a letter written home to Bishop Hough. Whether this circumstance had any special effect on his after writings it is impossible to say; he was strongly imbued with the principles of Boileau's school in early life, and they were indeed the principles fashionable at Oxford during his residence there, but they seemed to have grown weaker in him, as he grew older; and in fact they were gradually dying out from our Literature during Addison's lifetime. He certainly possessed to a great degree the keen critical faculty and the good taste of the great Frenchman, but he added to them a vigour and a shrewdness peculiarly his own.

Prior.

Amongst the names of those who, far less eminent than the writers above spoken of, have yet left an enduring record of themselves during this age, is that of Prior, some of whose works still possess a considerable share of popularity. He exemplified rather the French influence dominant in England before the reign of Boileau, than that which governed Pope and the school to which Pope belonged. His poetry possesses that light and playful genius always more common in France than here, and doubtless the natural tendency of his mind was fostered by his repeated residence in Paris as ambassador.

Lesser Writers.

It is a maxim of Southey's that a Literature may best be studied in its lesser writers, though its history may not best be written on the same plan; and the influence which directed the great minds of the day, naturally ruled the

lesser spirits. These men, exaggerating the tone they perceived in their leaders, shewed the difference between those who direct the genius of their age, and those who are wholly governed by it. Tickell, Blackmore, Somerville, Green and the other smaller writers of the day, did ill what Pope and Addison did well, and the natural consequence appears in the verdict of posterity.

As yet there were little signs in the general literature of the country of that popular influence soon to exercise so exclusive a dominion; it was but shadowed forth in the writings of the great authors; the highest hills are ever the first to catch the rays of the rising sun. Some few men there were, who were free from this influence of France, chief amongst whom was Defoe, a great figure, ^{Popular Influence.} Defoe. who having so little in common with our subject, barely passes across our stage. Steele has already been mentioned as his follower.

Dennis strove hard to uphold the principles of French ^{Dennis.} criticism, but after the *Dunciad*, Dennis was no longer an oracle. With strange perversity, he attacked, as not fulfilling the true rules of his ideal drama, the one English play which is most accommodated to the French taste, the *Cato* of Addison. Doubtless however in this case, his anger against the author blinded him as to the true merits (as he would himself have termed them) of the piece.

Young was one of the last of the disciples of the ^{Young.} French school; though not much read in England, his writings have had some slight influence abroad. Madame de Staël derived the melancholy which she considered a trait in the English character from the influence of Young's poems, and, strange to say, of those of Ossian, ^{Ossian.} or rather of Macpherson, a poet who had the honour of numbering among his admirers the great Napoleon.

24 INFLUENCE OF BOILEAU AND HIS SCHOOL. [SECT. II.

English Litera-
ture in France.

As English literature became known abroad, foreigners naturally turned to that department of letters which agreed best with their own taste. Frenchmen cared little for the old English Drama, for the writers of the Elizabethan age, but were more attracted by the works of a time during which their own spirit was prevalent, by the graceful neatness of Pope, and the mournful contemplations of Young.

Bolingbroke.

Bolingbroke was much read in France, and most of his works were translated soon after his death, as were also many of Pope's, whose *Essay on Man* aroused a warm controversy abroad, and was in particular criticised by Creusnay, a Swiss professor. Creusnay contended that Pope's positions tended to draw men away from revealed religion. The *Essay* was defended by Warburton, who, it is said, rather surprised and gratified Pope by proving the orthodoxy of his work.

English philoso-
phy in France.

It was of course natural that our literature should begin to gain popularity in France when it was most nearly assimilated to the tone of French thought. However, the English influence which was now beginning to make itself felt was of a very different character, and owed its rise to very different causes. With the consideration of the effect of English philosophy in France, we enter on an entirely new department of our subject.

SECTION III.

THE INFLUENCE OF ENGLISH PHILOSOPHY IN FRANCE.

WE have now come to the second division of our subject, the influence which England and English Metaphysics exercised over the thoughts and writings of French philosophers. This inquiry belongs perhaps rather more to a treatise on philosophy, than to an essay on Literature, as the influence is strictly as much that of English Institutions, and modes of thought, as it is of English writings. Still it is impossible to draw the line of distinction, and the writings of the philosophers form so large and important a part of the literature of the century in France, that they necessarily occupy a considerable space in any investigation of it.

The absolute ignorance of English writers which prevailed in France and on the Continent, has already been remarked upon; and we have noted how, while England had learnt much from her neighbours, she had given them little or nothing in return; but now we shall see the tide setting in the opposite direction, and England, for the first time in her history, becoming the teacher of the surrounding nations in literary matters. It was in England that the first seeds of that infidel philosophy were

Ignorance of
England on the
Continent.

sown, which afterwards spread into France and bore such tremendous fruit in the Revolution. It was in England that the system of philosophy was discovered which Voltaire used as his weapon in his attack upon the old French school of Descartes. It was an English writer that both Voltaire and Rousseau, the directors of French thought throughout the century, took as their guide and master. This Englishman was Locke, and this new philosophy was the philosophy of Locke. He certainly belongs to the seventeenth rather than to the eighteenth century, but the periods which mark the changes in a Literature do not synchronise with our divisions of time, and if the man himself lived most of his life before 1700 (he died in 1704), in his writings he was the governing spirit of a large party in the succeeding generation.

Historical Classification.

In an investigation like the present we must never forget that the periods into which we divide our History are as purely artificial as the Botanical System of Linnæus. They absolutely do not exist, and have merely been invented as aids to the student. Neither is it sufficient even to say that they shade into one another; we must consider them as often running parallel for a lengthened period and continually overlapping. Contemporary writers may belong to wholly different of our artificial periods. Again, different influences are at work at the same time on different men. The French influence on England did not cease because a current of thought began to run in the opposite direction, from England to France. It is of course impossible to divide the continuous chain of human events by any strongly marked lines of definition. In this case indeed it so happens that the eighteenth century, if we may consider it as commencing with the accession of William in 1688, and ending with the French Revolution in 1789, does form a natural and distinct period in the

history of the two nations with whose literature we have to deal. And this period it is with which we are at present concerned, and which it has seemed best to treat of in this essay. It was impossible to take up the history of letters in England abruptly at 1700, while all that happened during or after the Great Revolution, belongs more distinctly to our own era, the nineteenth, not the eighteenth century.

Before entering on a discussion into the influence of ^{History of Scep-}
^{ticism in England.} Locke in France, it may be as well to consider shortly the growth of those infidel principles in which England was not merely the precursor, but also to some extent the teacher of her neighbours. Possessed as she was, at the commencement of the century, of a greater amount of religious liberty than surrounding nations, it was natural that the first signs of a spirit of scepticism should appear in her, scepticism afterwards exaggerated in France into the speculative deism of Voltaire, and the absolute atheism of the *Encyclopédie*.

Leland, in his *Deistical Writers*, mentions first Lord ^{Lord Herbert of}
^{Cherbury.} Herbert of Cherbury, who published his book *De Veritate* in Paris in 1624. This, with his *De Causis Errorum*, and his *De Religione Laici*, were afterwards published in London. He was followed by Hobbes, whose anti-theocratic doctrines were produced by the theocratic notions of the Puritans. Hobbes' writings, though not directly levelled ^{Hobbes.} against Christianity, had yet great influence in spreading deistical views. Collins next in 1709 published his *Priest-craft in Perfection*, and in 1713 *A Discourse on Free-thinking*, in which he vindicated the right of freedom of inquiry, and inveighed against the tyranny of the priesthood. Both books were supposed at the time to be secretly directed against revealed religion. Also we hear that about 1705 Thomas Woolston was imprisoned and fined

for his *Six Discourses on the Miracles of Christianity*. The spirit of inquiry was at work, though she dared not yet openly shew her face even here.

Political situation
of Great Britain.
Its effect on Religious controversy.

Locke.

But the growth of sceptical principles was indirectly favoured by the political situation of Great Britain at this period. The doctrines of Hobbes and those of the Puritans were equally distasteful to the Episcopal clergy, who invented in opposition the theory of a Divine Right transmitted from Adam and the patriarchs down to Charles. On the accession of William this theory seemed objectionable to the new dynasty, and it was therefore demolished by Locke, in his *Essay on Government*. The counter theory, of a Social Contract, set up by Locke, we shall discuss later on.

Hoadley.

The accession of George the First, and the establishment of the Protestant succession, rendered it still more necessary to oppose the narrow views of the clergy upon the doctrines of passive obedience, non-resistance, and hereditary right. On these matters a warm controversy was aroused, in which many eminent divines took part, without any idea that they were thereby indirectly aiding the cause of scepticism. Of these Bishop Hoadley was among the most distinguished, a prelate already well known for his attachment to the cause of civil liberty, and for his zeal for the Protestant succession. In his sermon on *The Nature of the Kingdom of Christ*, he endeavoured to impose some restraint upon the ecclesiastical authority. The bishop was followed by others in the same strain, and to this controversy we are indebted, to a considerable extent, for the greater moderation which has since prevailed in the claims of Church power by the clergy. But the dispute was not allowed to stop there; Trenchard and Gordon took up and advocated with greater ability, in their *Independent Whig*, and other of their productions,

Trenchard and
Gordon.

the principles already advanced in the previous reign by Toland and Tindal, and attacked with considerable aspe- Toland and Tindal. rity the whole body of the clergy. Gradually the spirit of inquiry extended to the doctrines of the Church, and an investigation arising chiefly from the scruples of pious and learned divines (such as Mr Whiston and Dr Clarke) developed at last, in the hands of Bolingbroke (in his *Letters on History*, and his Philosophical Works) and Hume, into an attack upon the principles of Christianity.

After this brief sketch of the course of philosophical Locke. infidelity in England before the era of Voltaire, we may return to Locke, the history of whose philosophy is really the history of the philosophy of the century; but at this time the history of moral and metaphysical philosophy is so inextricably mixed up with the theories and speculations of the deists, that some knowledge of the point which these latter had attained in their progress towards atheism, is absolutely necessary to a proper understanding of the philosophy of the epoch.

The writings of Locke inaugurated for us a new era of study. The questions which he raised were those which occupied the attention of the century: these were, The Nature of the Mind; The Principles of Government; Toleration; Education; The Reasonableness of the Christian Religion. All these we are constantly meeting with, and more especially in France than England; for it was in France that Locke's principles really bore their greatest fruit; here they influenced the speculations of a few philosophers, there they swayed the minds of a people, and directed the course of a Revolution.

Locke's immediate followers in England were not really men of great eminence, or lasting renown; Shaftesbury and Bolingbroke are after all valuable rather in their lives than in their writings, as examples of their age.

rather than original thinkers. It was reserved for France to produce Locke's greatest disciple, a man whose influence over his own time has scarcely been equalled in History.

Voltaire.

It was in 1726 that Voltaire appeared in London, as yet chiefly known to his countrymen as a poet, since four years before he had published his *Henriade*. Newton, little as yet known in France, where Descartes' admirers gave his works but a poor welcome, was now in the last year of his life (he died 1727); Walpole was at the height of his power in the House of Commons; Pope and Bolingbroke were in their glory; Addison was dead, and Steele in the last year of his life, but the impress they had left upon the literature of their country was still fresh and clear. It is not too much to say that this visit marked an era in the literary history of at least one of the two countries forming the subject of this essay. While in England Voltaire studied that philosophy which he urged upon his countrymen in place of the system of Descartes; for the metaphysics of Voltaire were not French in their origin; his scheme was a revolt against the old French school, and at bottom his was English philosophy, though exaggerated and adapted to the idiosyncrasies of his countrymen.

We may imagine what attention was paid by so keen an observer to all our institutions. He studied carefully the constitution of our Parliament, made acquaintance with our literary celebrities; amongst whom he visited Congreve, the last remaining of the old dramatists belonging to the school of the Restoration; and, most important of all to our subject, he determined Locke to be the first of philosophers, and studied his works with the greatest diligence.

It is not in general easy to discern the influence of a

writer such as Locke on foreigners, except when they themselves confess it, but the chain of evidence is clear enough in Voltaire's case, since on his return to France he published his *Lettres sur les Anglais*, a work which had the honour of being publicly burnt by order of the Parliament of Paris. Of these Letters Condorcet (author of the *Vie de Voltaire*) tells us that they were "main instruments in the revolution of opinions, and in determining what the tone of French philosophy during the eighteenth century should be." They were afterwards embodied, after some alterations, in various articles of his *Dictionnaire Philosophique*.

These letters were the result of the general influence exercised by England upon Voltaire during his residence here, but the English influence which really governed the whole course of his after writings was derived from the philosophy of Locke. His admiration for this great teacher is often and strongly expressed; "Never," he said, "was there a more logical mind, never a more accurate logician." He praised highly Locke's refutation of Descartes' doctrine of innate ideas, and adopted eagerly the sensationalist theories of the English philosopher; in fact it is this acceptance of the Lockian doctrines, according to the general belief in this country and in France, that caused the persecution which Voltaire endured. This opinion is endorsed by Condorcet, a sufficiently high authority; but Professor Maurice, in his *Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy*, points out the improbability of the supposition that the clerical influence, either Jesuit or Jansenist, should be exerted in favour of the doctrines of Descartes or Malebranche, hateful as these writers were to the Jesuits and schoolmen of the preceding generation. Mr Maurice's idea is that the general tone of his letters, the contempt for the fathers of the Church, and for schoolmen, evinced

in them, and their hostility to absolute government, were quite sufficient to account for the attack made upon them by the then powerful faction of the Jesuits.

Voltaire and
Newton.

Locke, however, was not the only English philosopher whom Voltaire studied; he it was who first introduced Newton into France, in his *Elements of the Newtonian Philosophy*, written while he was in retirement at Louvain, after the public burning of his *Lettres Philosophiques*. There, under the protection of the Marquise du Châtelet, he studied the *System* of Leibnitz, and the *Principia* of Newton.

Attacks on
Revelation.

Again, we may observe in the method of Voltaire's attacks on Religion, traces of the influence of England. The first assault here was made upon the clergy, and in the same way it was the Church against which Voltaire directed his missiles. The Jesuits had prepared the way for their own downfall by the abuse of their power; their treatment of the Jansenists, and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, were but instances of the way in which they wielded the despotic authority then possessed by them in France. It was the feeling aroused by these and like acts of tyranny, that caused the whole nation to welcome Voltaire as a deliverer. They saw that he had the power to strike off their invisible chains, now become hateful alike to the despot and the people. Indeed it was this growing hatred of the Theocratic power that explains Voltaire's power, not only over the people of France and Germany, but over their rulers, over Frederick of Prussia and Catharine of Russia, and herein is also contained the reason why this great popularity never extended itself to England. She had passed through her Revolution, and was striving slowly forward to the light; France had yet to undergo her baptism of fire, and was still bound in the chains of that despotism, political and

ecclesiastical, whose destruction was ere long to astonish the world.

Thus the French people turned to Voltaire as the ^{Voltaire's Religion.} apostle of a new faith ; but alas, he had no faith to give them : he was an iconoclast, he could deliver them from the bonds of their old superstition, but he had nothing to give them in exchange. Yet Voltaire was no avowed infidel, he protested against the atheism of his colleagues in the *Encyclopédie*. He had no love for extreme views, but the power he had raised was too strong for him, and his doctrines resulted in those democratic orgies of the Revolution at which his whole soul would have revolted. In truth Voltaire was not without a belief of some sort of his own : he and his disciples advocated boldly the principles of morality, justice, and toleration, they strove earnestly and bravely for the good of their fellow men ; but this was not enough, morality may be sufficient for the philosopher, but the mass of mankind feel but little restraint from her cold dictates¹ ; Voltaire was successful in overthrowing the empire of the Church, but the philosophy he taught soon passed away. Indeed the effect is seen in his immediate followers, who exaggerated his doctrines as he had done those of Locke, till they met their *reductio ad absurdum* in the Goddess of Reason, and the atheism of Anacharsis Clootz.

From the great founder of the school, we pass naturally to the consideration of its lesser writers, those of the *Encyclopédie*, chief amongst whom were D'Alembert and Diderot, both eager disciples of Voltaire, and as such followers of the school of Locke.

¹ The same idea has been expressed so well by M. Rénan, in his *Vie de Jésus*, that it may not be amiss to quote here a few of his words : "La Philosophie ne suffit pas au grand nombre. Il lui faut la sainteté. Un Apollonius de Tyane, avec sa légende merveilleuse, devait avoir plus de succès qu'un Socrate, avec sa froide raison."

England had now come to be recognised in France as the teacher and the source of philosophy. The example of Voltaire began to be followed, and Frenchmen came over to study our institutions and our metaphysics in the land which originated them.

“Qu’avez vous appris en Angleterre?” said the king one day to M. Laurageais.

“Sire,” was the answer, “j’ai appris à penser.”

The consequence of this Anglomanie was that other English authors and philosophers were studied. The works of Newton, introduced into France by Voltaire, found a worthy student in D’Alembert, who took up Newton’s researches at the point where the English mathematician had left them. “Il acheva de changer en théorie, ce qu’on n’avait d’abord appelé qu’un système.”

*Discours
Preliminaire.*

But D’Alembert’s chief work was his *Discours Préliminaire* to the *Encyclopédie*. The alphabetical arrangement of the work necessitated the abandonment of all principles of classification, and this want D’Alembert strove to supply in some degree by the order and method of his introduction. In it he founded his classification of human knowledge on that of Bacon’s *Treatise*; and, dividing his essay into three parts, he gives us, first, the subjective view, that of his own school, in which we have human attainments presented to us in the order which we may suppose them to have followed in their development in the human mind; secondly, the objective view, that of Bacon, where they are classed according to their order of mutual interdependence; and lastly he treats them historically, according to the modern method, inaugurated by Montesquieu.

Palissot, one of the adversaries of the Encyclopédistes, characterises the whole work as “servilement copié de Bacon;” and though this is merely the exaggeration of an

opponent, yet the charge, sweeping as it is, is not without some foundation.

D'Alembert's coadjutor, Diderot, has left but little of his own, though he assisted nearly all his friends in their writing. Of him Théry says, "C'est le Novum Organum de Bacon qui inspira à Diderot ses Pensées sur l'Interprétation de la Nature."

Helvetius followed, and carried further on the Encyclopédist doctrines, till the philosophers themselves were astonished, and Voltaire grew alarmed at the Frankenstein monster he had created. Helvetius and the two before-mentioned were among the first who were bold enough to deny the existence of a God, and the whole philosophical and literary world of Paris soon followed in their track. A quarter of a century before the Revolution all this society were infidels; indeed it is related that Hume, being invited to meet a party of eighteen of the chief literary men of Paris, found himself the least sceptical amongst them; he alone allowed the probability of the existence of a Supreme Being.

The last and most extreme of the sensationalist philosophers was Condillac. He took his start from the principles of Locke, and strove to follow out Locke's idea of "beginning at the right end;" working from observation up to theory, not starting from theory. Accordingly he began from sensation, and tried to derive from it all human phenomena. The effect was an apparent simplicity in his system; but it was a simplicity gained, as has been said, by the elimination of unknown quantities, until it ended by the utter annihilation of the soul. The sensationalist doctrines could go no further, and accordingly we see the reaction against them now beginning to set in. This reaction took the form of an admiration for the writings of Rousseau, and it is to Voltaire and his ~~school~~ ^{Rousseau} for him, leaving him the

mind of France as a *tabula rasa* on which to inscribe his new faith, that he owes much of his marvellous popularity and extraordinary influence amongst Frenchmen.

Montesquieu.

Before however going on to consider the works of Rousseau, it will be convenient to notice the third of the great French philosophers of the century, Montesquieu. He too shews traces of English influence, but it is not the same influence which exercised so great a power over his contemporaries. It was the constitution of England which he admired, rather than her philosophy, and in the *Esprit des Lois* it is the English Constitution, the "Monarchie constitutionnelle, avec ses trois pouvoirs," that he takes as his model. "Pour decouvrir," he says, "la liberté politique dans une constitution, il ne fallait pas tant de peine. Si on peut la voir où elle est, si on l'a trouvée, pourquoi la chercher?" He like his two great contemporaries visited England, where he was introduced by Lord Chesterfield.

As Montesquieu admired our political system, so his writings not unnaturally obtained greater favour here than in France. He, like our own Newton, preferred to investigate facts and their causes, rather than to found theories upon them, and he it was who first suggested that Historical Method in the philosophical study of Law, which has since utterly eclipsed every other, and which ultimately annihilated the old Roman fiction of a Law of Nations. The teaching of Montesquieu, starting as it did from facts, was eminently pleasing to the English mind, ever impatient of dogma, and distrustful of theory. Certainly he is often hasty in his conclusions, nor is he entirely free from the trammels of the old philosophy; yet his conception of his subject is entirely novel, and has afforded valuable hints for the direction of the course of future inquiry. Unpopular to the court and to the priesthood he naturally was, for in his earlier writings, and

especially in his *Lettres Persanes*, he shewed but little respect for the Church. Later on in life, it is true, he paid her more reverence. M. Villemain¹ says, "C'est que maintenant il veut construire l'édifice social, et qu'il a besoin d'une colonne pour le soutenir." Perhaps, after all, such a way of regarding religion is scarcely less dangerous to it than the avowed infidelity of the *Encyclopédie*.

The philosophers looked only at the religion they saw around; Montesquieu, with keener insight, looked at other times besides his own, and arrived at the conclusion that Christianity is needful for modern states and modern civilisation.

Whether the *Esprit des Lois* would have obtained in Rousseau. France the popularity it possessed in England, if time had been allowed for its teaching to have gained ground, it is impossible to say, for "the counter hypothesis which it seemed destined to destroy passed suddenly from the forum to the street, and became the key-note of controversies far more exciting than are ever agitated in the courts or in the schools²." Rousseau, the great apostle of Nature, began to issue those works which had so marvellous an influence over the whole body of his countrymen, an influence unparalleled in any country, or in any time. Voltaire had cleared the way by his destruction of the old faith, and Rousseau followed with a new creed, and a new belief. Religious antiquities of all sorts were as distasteful to him as to Voltaire, but he felt the need of that human faith upon which the philosopher of Ferney had looked with contempt. And so "the philosophers of France, in their eagerness to escape from what they deemed a superstition of the priests, flung themselves headlong into a superstition of the lawyers³."

¹ *Tableau de la Lit. Française au 18e siècle*.

² Maine's *Ancient Law*, p. 87.

³ Maine, p. 90.

Jus Gentium.

So the old Roman fiction of the *Jus Gentium*, the Law of Nature, was rehabilitated and given a new lease of life by Rousseau, who took up the notion of primitive innocence, in opposition to the Christian one of original sin, and declared that perfection was only to be found by returning as far as possible to a state of nature.

Reasons for Rousseau's popularity.

The reasons for Rousseau's popularity amongst the Frenchmen of his time are various. The chief appears to be that, possessing as he did a larger share of the "enthusiasm of Humanity" than his predecessors, he first offered his countrymen a belief of a sort; his philosophy was not purely destructive. Again he, even more than Voltaire, popularised his theories, by giving them to the people in the shape of novels and tales. And besides this, perhaps to the Parisians of the time the voice of Nature, even of such a Nature as Rousseau's deity, was grateful, from the same causes which conduced to the popularity of Byron's poems amongst our own people in the early part of the present century; and which have given rise to that love for sham rusticities which has prevailed in several of the most luxurious and voluptuous courts of former days.

Rousseau and Locke.

Rousseau was only less than Voltaire a follower of Locke; with this difference, that the latter's whole system was founded upon that of the Englishman, whereas Locke's writings seem merely to have formed one of the various sources from which Rousseau elaborated his doctrines. Indeed many of his notions resemble more nearly the theories of Hobbes than those of Locke.

His *Contrat Social* is indeed merely a development of the Englishman's doctrines, but the theory which Locke valued chiefly for its political usefulness, Rousseau and his followers applied to explain all social phenomena. In his advocacy also of toleration, he does but carry further on Locke's principles, here as in every other instance in which

they crossed the channel, intensely exaggerated; for so great was the toleration of Rousseau, that he made the very expression or advocation of an opinion a crime, giving it the name of incivism. Opinion was to be so free that no one was to be allowed to express any, lest he should influence that of others. Extremes meet, and despotism is not so far removed from an excess of liberty.

To Rousseau much of the classical pedantry of the Revolution ^{Phrases of the Revolution.} Revolution is due, with many other of its peculiar characteristics. The phrase Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, is first met with in his *Contrat Social*. Doubtless this love for the forms of Republican Rome, though partly due to the study of Locke, whose Whiggism is in some part derived from this source, was mainly originated by Rousseau's fondness for Plutarch, one of his three favourite authors (the other two were Locke and Montaigne).

Yet while we see in the Revolution the natural consequence of the teaching of Voltaire and Rousseau; while we allow that the Encyclopédistes, the Democrats, the Jacobins, merely carried their doctrines to their natural result; we must still remember that neither of the two philosophers advocated Revolution, or expected the smallest advantage from it. Rousseau himself said that it was only in the youth of states that Liberty could be gained. The evils of the present state of civilisation he thought inveterate. While Voltaire had no love for democratic institutions, his connexion with, and influence over, Frederick the Despot of Prussia is well-known, and was not unfrequently laid to his reproach. Still both seem to have had some foreboding of the coming storm. Voltaire, writing in 1764 to the Marquis de Chauvelin, says, "Tout ce que je vois jette les semences d'une révolution, qui arrivera immanquablement, et dont je n'aurais pas le plaisir d'être le témoin. La lumière s'est tellement répandue,

Revolution foreseen by Voltaire and Rousseau.

qu'on éclatera à la première occasion, et alors ce sera un beau tapage. Les jeunes gens sont bien heureux : ils verront de belles choses."

Rousseau too, in his *Emile*, says, "Nous approchons de l'état de crise et du siècle des révolutions."

Like the two other great Frenchmen of whom we have spoken, Rousseau visited England, but it was in 1765, during his exile from France, and after the publication of the works which raised his name so high. In that year Hume, then resident in Paris, was applied to, and he obtained for Rousseau a situation in England, which with his usual fickleness he threw up in two years. His friendship for Hume was great, and he expressed great admiration for him, but during Rousseau's residence in England they became estranged, and the French philosopher spoke of his English benefactor in terms of the utmost bitterness. Doubtless this intimacy was not without its effect on Rousseau, though the difference between the Tory Hume and the democratic Rousseau was too wide to permit any great similarity appearing in their writings.

Such is a slight sketch of the English influence as exerted upon French literature in the middle of the eighteenth century. We have now to see what effects French literature, thus changed by its contact with English philosophy, wrought upon the writings of this time in our own country¹.

Philosophy in
England.

England, in the second half of the century, did little to vindicate her claim to be the leader of the nations in philosophy. Our ascendancy ceased with the rise of Voltaire, and after that our own chief thinkers were chiefly

¹ All notice of the effect upon Voltaire and Rousseau, in their character of novelists, of English contemporary fiction, has been postponed for the present. Awkward as this division may appear, it seems the more convenient arrangement.

disciples of the French philosopher. Philosophy did not flourish under the Georges. From the time of Locke it declined, and the study of Natural Science has since in some degree taken its place. Bacon first promoted a taste for this study; he was followed by Newton and by Locke, after whom the English mind turned naturally from theory to observation; Moral Philosophy and Metaphysics have declined, Natural Science has taken their place.

The influence of Voltaire in England was chiefly ^{Voltaire and} _{Hume.} manifest in Hume, whose whole mind was formed in France. He was an ardent disciple (as far as his even and quiet temper would allow) of Voltaire, by whom he was more influenced than by Rousseau, though he lived at one time in a state of considerable intimacy with the latter. He followed the Frenchmen in his attacks upon theocracy, and in fact brought over into England their atheism. Before his time it was merely Deism that was advocated, the war was directed against Revelation, and against the principles of Christianity. He however followed out the Encyclopédist doctrines to the full, and was the first to introduce them into England.

His *History of England* was undertaken in the spirit of the philosophical history of Voltaire, yet strangely enough it was read and used as a school-book, while his essays (whose spirit the History embodied) were angrily attacked by the defenders of Christianity. Perhaps some reason for this inconsistency may be found in the spirit of Toryism which pervades the History: churchmen are ever naturally conservative.

Chief amongst those who espoused the cause of Christianity was Paley, who indeed took his idea of *expediency* from his adversary. Hume said that justice and truth had no foundation but in utility. This doctrine was expanded afterwards into the utilitarianism of Bentham, a writer ^{Paley.} _{Bentham.}

whose reputation was formed throughout Europe before it was recognised at home. Bentham however is a writer of the nineteenth century, and as such does not come within the scope of this essay.

Gibbon.

The other great English infidel philosopher was Gibbon, and he has almost as much claim to be regarded as French, as English. It is well known that he for some time doubted whether he should write his *Decline and Fall* in English or in French, and its whole style has much of the antithetical tone common to the French writings of the period. Gibbon's intellect partook of the Encyclopédist character; it possessed the same acuteness, the same confidence in its own powers, the same tendency to the actual and sensual rather than the abstract and ideal.

His first work was an *Essay on the Study of Literature*, written in French. To Christianity he was a most dangerous enemy. Its system he includes in the same category as the heathen mythologies, and without making any direct attacks upon it, rather takes its falsehood for granted and explains its rapid success by secondary causes. Byron well speaks of him as

“Sapping a solemn creed with solemn sneer,
The lord of irony, that master-spell.”

The last of the Lockian era of philosophers was Burke, who, like many other of Locke's followers, overthrew some of his master's theories, for he it was who gave the death-blow to Locke's doctrine of the Social Contract, already wellnigh exploded. He denounced from the first the French Revolution, and therefore had some effect on its periodical literature; this time however, as was observed above, is rather to be classed with the era of the nineteenth century, and consequently we may pass it over without very much notice.

Bald.

Thomas Reid (1709—1793) deserves notice as an

author whose works have had considerable influence in France, but chiefly during our own century. He occupied the interval between the sensationalists and the new German philosophy. He was the philosopher of common sense, and occupied himself chiefly with the visible world.

Any account of the philosophers of the eighteenth ^{Smith} century would be incomplete which omitted the name of Adam Smith, who deserves indeed the name of the founder of a new science, Political Economy. His *Wealth of Nations* is in parts obsolete, and his whole subject has so grown with the greater knowledge of the present day, that he has naturally been left far behind by the wider knowledge of his successors, but he was the first who applied scientific principles to the philosophy of society, and has every right to be considered the discoverer of the science.

Smith was an intimate friend of Hume, and was introduced by him to literary society in Paris. Whether from his intercourse with the French philosophers or with Hume, his opinions were infidel.

The above is a brief and slight account of the effect on the philosophical writings of both countries produced by reciprocal interchange of thought. For a short time, chiefly owing to the ascendancy of Locke, England took the lead, and gave lessons in philosophy to her neighbours. Soon however she was outstripped by France, who in her turn has had to yield to Germany. The doctrines of Locke, transplanted into the kindly soil of France, shot up with unnatural growth, till after producing its terrible fruit in the Revolution the plant was cut down by the strong arm of Napoleon, and philosophy, unable to exist under the shadow of despotism, was driven to lands where discussion was not stifled, and where thought was at all events more free than under the First Empire.

SECTION IV.

SECONDARY INFLUENCES—THE DRAMA—FICTION, &c.

WE have now considered the two principal streams in which thought flowed between England and France; the influence of the French classicists in England, of English philosophers in France. Besides these there were various less important influences at work, which passed from one country to the other, and which do not so easily fall under either of the two heads above named.

Chief lesser
influences.

Two of the chief of these will be, the reciprocal influences of the English and French stage upon each other, and secondly those exerted by the literature of fiction in each country. On these matters our subject will only allow a slight glance, as we can but notice them in those points where the effect of French or English influence respectively shews itself in the work of the other country.

The Stage.

Amongst all the other great changes which had place during the eighteenth century, was the change of the dramatist into the novelist. Of course this is easily explained; the printing-press and the wider diffusion of knowledge will sufficiently account for it, but it is remarkable to notice how completely, while our theatres are as *flourishing* as ever, the race of dramatists has passed away

from us. We have no comedy now, worthy the name. This is perhaps partly to be accounted for by the abolition of strong class-distinctions. As these passed away comedy lost its subjects; seeking for oddities, it found not classes but individuals, and became thus at last degraded into farce. Still it remains strange that, since the dramatists of the Restoration, there has been scarcely a single English writer of comedies who, as such, has gained any celebrity, except Goldsmith, and, later on, Sheridan, who indeed revived in himself at the end of the century all the glories of the old English stage.

At the commencement of the century, English playwrights were even more under the French influence introduced at the Restoration, than any other class of writers. They wrote for the “Town,” and the town was then entirely under the domain of French taste. Comedy in the hands of Molière, and tragedy in those of Corneille and Racine, had attained the greatest excellence, and so we find all these writers, but especially the first, affording models for the English stage. Wycherley adapted Molière's *Ecole des Maris*, and *Ecole des Femmes*, in his *Country Wife*, and took the plan of his *Plain Dealer* from the *Misanthrope* of the same author; while from Racine he appropriated the character of the Countess in his *Plaideurs*, and she appears in the same play as Widow Blackmore. Otway (1651—1685) had borrowed from France the plot of his *Venice Preserved*. These two writers however belong entirely to the era of the Restoration; Congreve forms a link between them and the school which flourished during the earliest part of the eighteenth century: born in 1670, and in the character of his writings most nearly resembling his predecessors, he lived to be visited by Voltaire in 1726, during the French philosopher's visit to England. After him came Vanbrugh, Farquhar, and Cibber, whose

Vanbrugh,
Farquhar,
Cibber.

Dryden.

Collier's Short View.

Steele.

Hughes.

Goldsmith.

play of *Love's Last Shift* was translated into French with the curious title of *La Dernière Chemise de l'Amour*¹. His *Nonjuror* was suggested by Molière's *Tartuffe*. The effect of the French influence on Dryden has been noted before, he however was not so blind to its bad effects but that he could find a subject of ridicule in the affectation of French manners and fashions. In his *Marriage à la Mode*, he satirizes this prevailing folly.

In 1698 Collier published his *Short View of the Profaneness and Immorality of the English Stage*, and whatever are the merits or the faults of the book, it had certainly a most powerful effect on succeeding writers: a purer and more moral style arose, but a style which has left but little now remembered. Steele, a writer, as far as his plays are concerned, of this school, adapted Corneille's *Menteur* in his *Lying Lover*, making some slight alterations in the dénouement. Hughes, an occasional contributor to the *Spectator*, translated the *Miser* of Molière, and some other French works. Molière seems to have been considered as a model by most English playwrights. An English version of his *Malade Imaginaire*, under the title of *The Mother-in-Law*, was produced at the Haymarket in 1733, and most of his plays were translated into English during the early part of the century.

Though nearly all the great writers of the first half of the century wrote for the theatre, they have left us but little of any value. Addison's *Cato* is remembered more for the sake of its author, than for its own. Steele's comedies are forgotten; Fielding's were acknowledged failures; indeed it is not till we come to that period which we may call the Johnsonian era, that any real addition was made to the literature of the stage. Goldsmith's two

¹ Disraeli, *Curiosities of Literature*.

comedies will always hold a chief place among his works; though all those of his contemporaries are now entirely forgotten.

The influence of Molière and his school was now fast dying out in France, and French comedy, the glory of the country's literature in the earlier part of the century, had assumed a weaker and more sentimental tone in the hands of Marivaux and La Chaussier. In England also the same thing was happening. "I hope," says Goldsmith in his preface to *The Goodnatured Man*, "that too much refinement will not banish humour and character from ours, as it has already done from the French theatre. Indeed the French comedy has now become so very elevated and sentimental, that it has not only banished humour and Molière from the stage, but it has banished all spectators too."

The *Angloomanie* of Voltaire produced its effect on the ^{French Stage.} stage as elsewhere, and Destouches translated and imitated the English comedies of the day; while at the same time the great strife which was being carried on between Voltaire and his adversaries extended itself even to the theatre, so that we have philosophical tragedies on the one hand, and royalist on the other.

Of English play-writers at the end of the century, ^{Sheridan.} Sheridan alone deserves notice, since it is only those plays which have gained for themselves a life more lasting than that derived from theatrical representation, that are worthy of a place in an account of Literature. The mere ephemeral dramas of the day, or the examination of the prevailing tone of the stage, belong, not to the History of Literature, but to that of the Theatre.

The original genius of Sheridan did not owe very much to any of his predecessors. Congreve and Vanbrugh were doubtless his models, but he took little from them. It has

been suggested that the “Scandal scene” in his *School for Scandal* is borrowed from Molière’s *Misanthrope*: but the rather tedious monologue of Célimène in that play bears but slight resemblance to the dazzling play of wit in the English comedy. Molière himself, when accused of borrowing, replied, “C’est mon bien, et je repris partout où je le trouve ;” and Sheridan might have said the same, for whatever he has taken from others he has invested with the signs of his own genius, and made unmistakeably his own.

Fiction.

We may now pass from the stage to that sort of composition which to a great extent takes the place of dramatic writing, namely fiction.

Le Sage. Defoe.

The eighteenth century saw the birth of the modern novel; Defoe in our own country, and Le Sage in France, introduced a new species of composition; and it is remarkable that in both countries the first growth of novel writing was marked by similar characteristics. Both of these authors were remarkable for the air of reality they contrived to give to their fictitious narratives. The earliest writers of fiction are content to impose upon their readers by an air of verisimilitude; afterwards novelists took a higher flight, and gave us delineation of character. First they describe things, afterwards persons. In this respect Le Sage was in advance of the English writer; his analysis of human nature is most profound, and his chief hero, Gil Blas, is what Robinson Crusoe is not, a clearly defined and distinct character. Contemporaneous and similar as these authors were, they cannot be supposed to have affected one another. Defoe was entirely free from the French influence paramount in England in his time, while Le Sage belonged not to the English school, then just coming into power, but to the Spanish, which had almost passed away. Cervantes, and the Spanish writers of the style called

piéresco, were his models, and even furnished him with various scenes and ideas for his books.

In France, by the commencement of the century, the Fiction in France. tales of Chivalry which had formed the delight of the preceding age had passed away, and their place was being taken by Romances of several new descriptions. It is of course difficult to divide works of this sort into classes, but for convenience sake we may thus arrange them. Firstly, imaginary accounts of Travels, in which either the countries are real, and the travellers fictitious, or both personages and countries alike imaginary; and, secondly, true Novels, such as *Marianne*, *Gil Blas*, and *Héloïse*.

In tales of the first class the traveller was generally a foreigner, who passed through the countries of Europe and described them. The first of these was the *Turkish Spy*, and the most celebrated the *Lettres Persanes* of Montesquieu; but there were many others of the same class.

In England these tales suggested to Goldsmith his *Citizen of the World*; but the fashion seems not to have taken so much here as it did in France. Of the other sort of Imaginary Travels (*Voyages Imaginaires*), perhaps the original is the Ἀληθῶν ιστορίας λόγος (Veræ Historiæ) of Lucian; since, though there were, from the time of the *Odyssey*, many histories almost equally marvellous, Lucian's is the first which makes no pretence to veracity, but is in fact a satire upon the extravagant relations of older writers. Still the ridicule of Lucian was not enough to put an end to the writings he satirized, but their composition went on through the middle ages, one of the best and most philosophical of them being an Arabian tale by Hai Ebn Yokhdan. In modern times however we meet with no instances of this style of writing until the middle of the 17th century, when the discussion of the physical theory of the world gave rise to a new series of

these *Voyages Imaginaires*, which offered a convenient and safe way of putting forward any new or hazardous view of this sort of subjects entertained by their authors. Though by far the greatest number of these histories appeared in France, yet the masterpiece is certainly the work of an Englishman, our immortal *Gulliver's Travels*. Lord Macaulay says that Swift boasted that he never stole a hint; but it is difficult to believe that the idea of his great work was not borrowed from abroad. In the *Histoire Comique des États et Empire de la Lune* by Cyrano Bergerac (published about 1650), the adventures of the hero bear a strong resemblance to those of Gulliver in Brobdignagia, all the lunar inhabitants being represented as giants, and Cyrano himself, who visits them, as an object of as much curiosity as Gulliver in the English story. The *Histoire des États du Soleil*, by the same author, would appear to have given suggestions for the voyage to Laputa. The description also of the academy in Laputa is imitated from Rabelais, a writer with whom Swift had much in common; so much indeed, that Coleridge characterised him as “*anima Rabelæsii habitans in sicco.*” It is a coincidence that both these great satirists were priests.

Voltaire.

The idea which Swift got from France, Voltaire adapted from him, and made use of in his *Micromegas*, thus carrying it back into the country from which he got it. Voltaire was in England when *Gulliver's Travels* was published, and was very much struck with the book. By his advice the Abbé Desfontaines translated it into French.

Sterne.

To this same class belong such works as the *Sentimental Journey* of Sterne, who not only owes the scheme of the work to France, but much of his whole style, which was formed to a great extent on French examples. The humour of Sterne strongly resembles French humour, and

is more nearly akin to Voltaire's than is that of any other English writer. Sterne was a great plagiarist, but he probably owes more to Rabelais than any one else, unless indeed Burton, from whom he copied wholesale. We are told that he adapted the manner without the excuse of the French satirist, and that the times in which Rabelais lived forced him to keep on the mask of buffoonery, under cover of which he might safely vent his satire upon Church and State. The truth, however, seems to be, that in both cases each man only followed the bent of his own mind, and gave free vent to his own wild and fantastic imagination. The characters of Sterne also bear a certain resemblance to those of Rabelais; a parallel might be drawn between Mr Shandy and Uncle Toby on the one hand, and Panurge and Pantagruel on the other; but the conceptions which with the Frenchman are merely burlesque characters, become in Sterne's writings individuals and realities.

Sterne also laid under contribution the licentious but witty Miscellany called *Moyen de Parvenir*, D'Aubigny's *Baron de Fæneste*, and many other forgotten works of the sixteenth century. Owing to the fact that the tone of his writings was so well suited to the idiosyncrasies of the French people, he soon obtained for himself an European reputation.

Of the second class, or novel proper, the first example in France seems to have been *La Princesse de Cleves*, by Madame la Fayette, which Voltaire tells us was one of “les premiers où l'on vit les mœurs des honnêtes gens et des aventures naturelles décrits avec grace.” This was followed by the Abbé Prevost's *Manon Lescant*; while Rousseau, in his *Nouvelle Héloïse* and *Emile*, carried this serious style of Romance to considerable perfection.

The influence of English philosophy upon Rousseau Richardson, Burney, etc.

Diderot, D'Alembert.

has been already noticed, but besides this is to be remarked his excessive fondness for Richardson, a fondness which he shared with D'Alembert and Diderot, the former of whom, however, would allow him only a qualified praise, saying that "La Nature est bon à imiter, mais non pas jusqu'à l'ennui." Diderot on the contrary joins with Rousseau in his fervent admiration for Richardson, declaring that if compelled to give up his library, he would keep his works, together with those of Homer, Moses, Euripides, and Sophocles, to be read alternately. Doubtless the style of Richardson is in some respects more pleasing to a Frenchman than to ourselves. It has much about it of the old French Romance of the preceding century, though his characters are of a very different type to the artificial personages of the Romances. Besides, Richardson's minute analysis and careful drawing from life were doubtless grateful to the earnest disciple of Nature and his followers.

Bernardin St Pierre cannot be omitted in a notice of French fiction, though it is not easy to trace the effect of English influence in his works. If there is any to be seen at all, it is certainly of a very different character to that exercised upon the writers last mentioned. In his genuine admiration and love for nature and her works he perhaps shows something of that spirit of which Thomson, in England, was the first exponent. Beyond this he seems to owe little or nothing to English writers.

Fiction in England.

Fiction in England was in very much the same stage as in France when the century began. The *Tales of Chivalry* (of which Spenser's poems form the last and best specimen) were already dying out in the time of Queen Elizabeth; they were succeeded by Italian tales, such as those upon which Shakspeare has founded many of his *plays*, and these again by Lylie and the Euphuists. After

Lylie, we find a heavy style of Romance, such as the *Eliana* and *Parthenissa*, but these being little popular in the court of Charles II, a lighter description of writing became fashionable, and hence grew at last the modern novel.

Defoe was the founder of our modern school, a school Defoe. remarkable for its originality, so that there is little trace of foreign influence in any of the great novelists of this century. There is a great gap between Defoe and Richardson. Richardson. son, who was really his immediate successor, since the latter made minute examination of character take the place of the incident and adventure, which give Defoe's novels their chief interest.

The account of Sir Roger de Coverley indeed, in the Addison. *Spectator*, almost forms a novel by itself; but the sketches are too slight, and not sufficiently connected to form a real tale. With Richardson then our modern school of English Fiction may be considered to begin. He was soon followed by Fielding, who still remains equalled by few if Fielding. any of his successors. The latter owes something to *Gil Blas* and *Don Quixote*, as he himself acknowledges on the title-page of *Joseph Andrews*, which he calls "A Tale written in imitation of Cervantes," but the French taste which governed the earlier writers of the century had now quite passed away, leaving only that polite horror of the "low," which Fielding satirizes so vigorously in *Tom Jones*. Smollett, who followed Fielding's lead, seems to Smollett. have derived little from France, and indeed it is very difficult to trace any foreign element in English fiction at this time. After Smollett, we have few novels that have lived; Goldsmith's solitary one, his *Vicar of Wakefield*, forming a bright exception. Goldsmith, it is true, travelled abroad, and was some time in France, but we do not find much trace of the French style in his writings. Goldsmith.

His *Citizen of the World*, as mentioned above, is indeed from a French model.

Johnson.

The Latin style which now affected our language, appears rather due to the influence of Johnson than to any remains of the classicism derived from France at the commencement of the century. The style of Johnson is thoroughly original, and it has influenced deeply that of nearly all English writers since his time. It would not have been surprising if Johnson had, in compiling his dictionary, taken hints from his predecessors in France, the authors of the *Dictionary of the French Academy*: but he does not seem to have done so; perhaps his obstinate hatred and contempt for everything French is sufficient to account for this. The two works have often been compared, but they are essentially different; one was the production of a single man, the other was compiled by a body of forty, all of whom were subject to the dictation of the Précieuses. The object of the two dictionaries also was different; that of the Academy was intended to arrange and determine a language, Johnson's was content to describe one.

Another French Dictionary, or rather Encyclopedia, the Dictionary of Trevoux, in an edition published after the production in England of Johnson's work, adapted from it the practice of making quotations from classical French authors to illustrate the use of words, instead of following the plan of the Academy, which had been to coin phrases as instances.

If during the first years of the eighteenth century our literature had been in subjection to that of France, at no time during its history was it so free from all foreign influence as during the latter half of it. The period of French influence was over, that of Germany yet to come, and the prevailing tone was English and popular.

Stray writers of course there were who admired France Walpole. and imitated her style; Horace Walpole, for instance, whose language is more like translated French than native English. But Walpole scarcely deserves a place in an account dealing only with literature, however valuable his Letters may be as chronicles of his time.

The consideration of Newspapers is not to be omitted Newspaper. in a notice, however slight and brief, of the literature of this period. It was this century which saw the birth of modern journalism. To us, living in the nineteenth century, the preceding one seems to have been an age of preparation for our own. We see in it the germs and beginnings of so many things which have now ripened to completion, and are, as we perhaps foolishly believe, in their full perfection.

Until about the end of the seventeenth century, there had hardly been such a thing as a real newspaper in England. The publication called the *English Mercury*, English Mercury. supposed to have been published during the year 1588, at the time of the Spanish Armada, has been shewn to be a forgery; while the *Mercuries* published irregularly during the civil war in no way deserve the name of newspapers. The *London Gazette* indeed appeared in 1666. London Gazette.

It has been suggested that our newspapers owe their origin to the French *Journal des Scavans*, published in 1665; while de Saint Foix, in his *Essais historiques sur Paris*, says that newspapers were first produced by Renardot, a Paris physician, who after having for many years amused his patients by his collection of news, conceived the idea of starting a paper which should include all the gossip of the day. It seems however that we owe the invention of newspapers to Italy, or rather to Venice (the name *gazette* is probably derived from *gazetta*, a coin which was the price of these papers), for in that city

papers were circulated in manuscript, before the invention of printing.

Defoe's *Review*.

In 1704 Defoe started his *Review*, at the end of each number of which was "A little Diversion" under the title of "Advice from the Scandalous Club." In his first number he called this part of his paper the "Mercure Scandale," a title which he adopted from a French book published in 1685. This was the seed afterwards developed into the *Tatlers* and *Spectators*, so that even in this species of composition, so peculiarly native and original, we owe something to our neighbours. After this the growth of journalism in England was rapid. In the first number of the *Spectator*, Addison speaks of the *Postman*, the chief paper of the day, edited by Mr Fonvive, a French Protestant, who had correspondents in all the principal countries of Europe. Besides this there were many other papers, *The Flying Post*, *The Observator*, *The Daily Courant*, and others. The *Tatler*, *Spectator*, and *Guardian* had a host of imitators; amongst those most worthy of mention are the *Freethinker*, the *Independent Whig* by Gordon, the *Examiner* and *Freeholder*, the *Craftsman* by Bolingbroke and Pulteney, and Johnson's *Rambler*.

Newspapers in
1711.

North Briton.
Junius.

Later on in the century the *North Briton*, and Junius's *Letters* in the *Morning Advertiser*, set the example of independent political criticism, and the last quarter of the century saw the publication of many of our present newspapers. In 1795 there were fourteen daily papers published.

French Revolu-
tion.

To enter on a discussion of the effects of the French Revolution on our literature would lead us beyond the limits of our subject. Before they had time to shew themselves the eighteenth century was over and gone, and that school was rising up, with which doubtless future bibliographers will class the writings of the present day.

The eighteenth century had been the period of the destruction of the old civilisation, and the French Revolution was its culminating point. In that fierce tempest of democracy were wrecked all the old-world principles, all the old society conventionalities, that from the ruins of the past a new and stronger future might arise;

*εἰκὸς οὐ Ερεψός τε μέλανα τε Νῦξ ἐγένοντο·
Νυκτὸς οὐτὸς οὐτὸς Διόηρ τε καὶ Ἡμέρη ἐξεγένοντο¹.*

So from the chaos and darkness of the Revolution was born the day which has since shone over our literature.

Poetry, stifled under the formalism and the conventionalities of a hundred years, shook herself free once more, and her true voice was heard again in the strains of Wordsworth and Coleridge, of Shelley and Keats, the founders of the school in whose latter days we are now living.

Thus, however imperfectly and unsatisfactorily, has *Conclusion* been endeavoured to be drawn a sketch of the chief effects worked upon each other by the literatures of the two chief countries in Europe during the age immediately preceding our own. We have seen England, politically subservient to France, subject also to her sway in the world of letters; we have seen her shaking off her bonds, and, by incorporating into her own work whatever seemed good in that of her neighbour, attaining and holding for a short time the first place amongst European nations in letters and philosophy, so that she in her turn governed the literature of France, and English metaphysics gave strength and body to the speculative conceptions of French philosophy.

These things we have noticed, and if much well worthy of investigation has been slurred over, and many things deserving careful attention been but passingly alluded to,

¹ Hesiod, *Theog.* 128 and 124.

the shortness of the time and the vastness of the subject allotted to this essay, are the only excuses that can be put forward. Where there was so much to be said, the chief difficulty was to reduce the matter into reasonable compass, and it were foolish to hope that the choice has always, or even often, been well exercised.

SYNCHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF EVENTS CONNECTED
WITH ENGLISH AND FRENCH LITERATURE.

A.D. 1700—1800.

Dryden d.	1701	
Tale of a Tub	1704	
Farquahar d.	1707	
Tatler started	1709	
Conduct of the allies	1711	Boileau d.
Rape of the Lock	"	
Spectator	"	
Addison's Cato	1713	
George I.	1714	
	1715	Regency
Pope's Iliad (finished)	1718	
Robinson Crusoe	1719	
Addison d.	"	Lettres Persanes
	1721	
	1722	Henriade
Pope's Odyssey	1725	
	1726	Voltaire in England
George II.	1727	
Isaac Newton d.	"	
Gulliver's Travels	"	
Congreve d.	1728	
Steele d.	1729	
Thomson's Seasons	1730	
	1732	Voltaire's Zaire
Essay on Man	1733	
	1734	Considerations sur le grandeur &c. des Ro- mains
Butler's Analogy	1736	
Hume's Treatise on Human Nature	1738	
Dunciad	"	
Pamela	1740	
Joseph Andrews	1742	
	1743	Voltaire's Mérope
Swift d.	1745	Le Sage d. D'Alembert's Traité de Dynamique.

Clarissa Harlowe	1748	Esprit des Lois.
Roderick Random	1749	
Tom Jones	1750	
The Rambler	1751	Vol. I. of Encyclopédie.
Hume's History, Vol. I.	1754	Montesquieu d.
Johnson's Dictionary	1755	
Burke On the Sublime and Beautiful	1756	
Gray's Bard	1757	
Tristram Shandy	1759	Nouvelle Héloïse.
Rasselas	1760	Candide.
George III.	1762	Emile.
Goldsmith's Traveller	1764	
North Briton, No. 45	1766	
Vicar of Wakefield	1767	
Sentimental Journey	1768	
Junius's Letters (till 1772)	1769	
Royal Academy	1770	
Good Natured Man	1774	Louis XVI.
Castle of Otranto	1776	Buffon's Époque de la Nature.
Morning Chronicle	1777	
Robertson's History of Charles V.	1778	Rousseau and Voltaire d.
Deserted Village	1781	
Chatterton d.	1784	D'Alembert d.
Wealth of Nations	1785	
Gibbon, Vol. I.	1788	Revolution.
Gibbon, Vols. II. and III.	1789	
Critic	1790	
Johnson's Lives	1796	
Johnson d.		
"Times" started		
Boswell's Life of Johnson		
Burke on French Revolu- tion		
Burns d.		



